197 [For "Comparison of the Various Alpine Dialects" see Category 116, pp. 397-419.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

194 are formed by marks placed either above or below the consonants.

212 The Tibetan language is written syllabically, the different syllables being separated by a small wedge-like point, called *Tsheg*, thus ·. The sentences also are divided by signs or marks of punctuation, called *Shad*. Thus, one mark, |, is equivalent to a comma; a double mark, ||, to a colon; and four marks || || to a full stop. The semicolon is formed by joining the intersyllabic point *Tsheg* to the single punctuation mark *Shad*, from which it receives its name of *Tsheg-Shad*. It is formed thus ·|, and is almost the same as our own semicolon.*

197 Of the Tibetan language I am not confident to speak; but, as far as my knowledge of it enables me to offer an opinion, I should say that it has no affinity with any of the surrounding dialects. A few words are of course the same as in Sanscrit; such as *khar*, a fort (Sanscrit, *garh*). But for every word similar to Sanscrit I think that I could point out one similar to English; thus, *brang* means to bring; *kyan* is a "can;" *thwore* is "to-morrow;" *skyur* is "sour;" *dal* means "dull;" *tuk* is "thick;" *bal* is "wool;" *lhunpo* is a "lump;" *tsem* is a "seam;" *dir* is "here;" and *der* is "there;" *tar* is "tired;" *rog* is a "rogue" (the crow being called *charog*, or the "bird-rogue"); *yahha* is a "yawn;" and *ikhug* is a "hiccough." The last two are, however, 212 imitative sounds. But there is another resemblance between English and Tibetan, which is of a totally different kind. This is the difficulty of ascertaining how to pronounce a word from its spelling. A foreigner is

* The marks of punctuation are called *rKyang-shad*; the comma; *gZhis-shad*, the colon; *bZhi-shad*, the full stop; and *Tsheg-shad*, the semicolon.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

puzzled with our *plough*, *dough*, and *slough* or *enough*, and with our *rite*, *write*, *right*, and *wright*. But the Tibetans are equally capricious in their pronunciation. *Spyan* they pronounce *shan* and *chan*, *phyag* they pronounce *chhag*, and *byang** they pronounce *chang*. Then again, they pronounce *do* (two), *bDo* (abundance), *mDo* (a short treatise or district), *hDo* (an answer), *rDo* (a stone), and *sDo* (danger), all in the same manner. And these, again, are confounded with the several words that are spelt with *t* and *th*.† It is in fact equally difficult to know how to spell a word from its pronunciation as to pronounce one from its spelling. In correct speaking, the silent initial letters should be rapidly sounded; and they are so by the more learned Lamas, *but by them only*. It is true that Vigne writes *Erganak* for *rGyanak* (the "black plain," the Tibetan name of China); but Moorcroft wrote *Guinnak*. Again, the pronunciation varies in different districts: thus, the compounds in *kh*; as *khy*, and *khr*, are pronounced *thy* and *thr* in Lhasa. *Khyi*, a dog, is called *thyi*; and *khrimpon*, a judge, is called *Thimpon*; but in Ladák they are pronounced as they are spelt. In Lhasa the final *s* in *Shags* is silent, as *shak*, justice. In Ladák it is pronounced *Shaks*. One of the most violent mispronunciations is *Tashi* for *bKra-shis*, as in *Tashi-Lhunpo*. Another is *U*, for *dBus*, the name of a district in Central Tibet. In the time of Ptolemy, however, this word must have been pronounced according to its spelling; for there can be no reasonable doubt that the people, whom he calls *Dabasæ*, are the inhabitants of *Dabus*, now *dBus*.

* In Kanâwar, however, the word is pronounced *Byang*, as in *Byangi*, wool, from which comes Chang Thang.

† So also *dMigs*, object; *dMig*, a hole; *Mig*, an eye; *rMig*, a hoof; *rMigs*, a worm; are all pronounced *Mik*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—FORMER LIMITS OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE.

171 The Tibetan language is now confined to the mountain
197 valleys of the Tsangpo and Indus, and to the upper courses of the Sutluj, the Sarju, and the Chenáb. But in ancient days it probably extended over the greater part of the Cis-Himálayas,* as I can trace by the Tibetan names of the smaller streams. All the larger rivers have been re-named by the Brahmans; but the smaller streams still retain their old names. Thus I find, within a few miles of Simla, the *Andre-ti*, or water of the Andar village; the *Ghail-ti*, or water of the Ghail valley; the *Khanyao-ti*, or water of the Khanethu district; and the *Gumo-ti*, or water of the Gumo valley. Other names are the *Chahi-ti*, the *Manyao-ti*, the *Chigaun-ti*, and the *Wal-ti*, all of which preserve the Tibetan word *ti*, "water." It is, perhaps, idle to speculate at what period the Tibetans could have possessed the present districts of Bisahar, Kyonthal, and Sarmar; but it must have been many centuries ago, before the Khasas† were driven into the hills by the conquering Hindus.

● 197 In Kanâwar, where the Indian and Tibetan languages meet, there are two dialects, which partake more or less of the one or of the other. The *Milchang*, or common language of Lower Kanáwar, is so called by the people of

* Pliny, VI. c. 17, Scythæipoi Caucasum montem (appellavere) *Graucasum*, hoc est *nive candidum*; and Isidor (according to Wilford) states that *Kroakasis* means "white" in the eastern tongue. Now, the only eastern language which approaches these words is the Tibetan, in which *Kar-khá-chan*, pronounced *Kar-khá-tsan*, means "white-snow-full-of," which is exactly Pliny's "nive candidum."

† The Kanets of the hills are all Khasas; and in Chamba, Kullu, and Kanâwar, they interpose between the Hindus and Tibetans.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Bisahar; the Kanâwaris themselves call it *Milchanang*. This name is most probably only the Tibetan word *Mingchang* (pronounced *Milchang*), "notorious or very common, vulgar." This dialect prevails over Lower Kanáwar, and along the left bank of the Sutluj in Upper Kanáwar. The *Tibar-skad*, or "*Tibar* language," is a dialect peculiar to Sungnam, Kánam, Lipe, and other places in Upper Kanáwar. It differs from the *Milchang* chiefly in shades of pronunciation, and in the changes of some initial consonants.

English.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
Three ...	súm ...	hum ...	sum.
A horse ...	rang ...	shang ...	tá.
A star ...	skara ...	karma ...	skarma.
Snow ...	pang ...	ang ...	kha.
A house ...	khim ...	khyim ...	khyim.
White ...	thog ...	thungni ...	kar.
Name ...	namang ...	ming ...	ming.
Green ...	rag ...	zangu ...	jangu.

In these examples there is, as might be expected, a greater admixture of Tibetan words in the dialect of Upper Kanáwar, which lies next to Tibet. In that of Lower Kanáwar there is one Hindu word, *namang*, a name.

In the following chapter I have given a copious vocabulary of the Tibetan language, compared with all the surrounding languages: with the *Arniyá*, *Shiná*, and *Khajunah* of the Dards; with the *Pushtu* of the Afghans, and with the *Kashmiri* of the Kasas; with the *Hindi* dialects of the people of Chamba, Kullu, Handur, and Garhwál, as well as with the Indo-Tibetan *Mil-*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

197 *chang* and *Tibar-skad* of Kanáwar. This comparison will give a much better idea of the language than any thing that I can say.

III.—PRINTING.

213 Printing has long been known and practised in Tibet, but only by engraved stereotype wooden blocks, and not by moveable types. The printing of a new work is therefore a most expensive and laborious process. The accompanying specimen of a Tibetan horn-book, or primer, is printed from one of these engraved planks.* The letters are most beautifully cut, but the block has been so much used, that the original sharpness is now quite gone.

The first or middle circle is blank.

The second circle contains a mystic formula, which I cannot decipher.

The third circle contains the ejaculation *hih*, eight times repeated.

The fourth circle contains the ejaculation *hún*, ten times repeated.

The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet, arranged according to the Sanscrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirates complete. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanscrit names; as for instance, the *n* in *Padmapani*. It is remarkable that the *ch*, *chh*, and *j* have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to *ts*, *tsh*, and *ds*. This 212 177 is, I think, a direct proof that the Tibetans obtained their knowledge of Sanscrit, as well as their alpha-

* See Plate XLIV.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. — Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses : cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul :—

"The distribution into castes is as follows :—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Suuyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots ; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal ; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixtnre of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul ; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river ; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season ; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi ; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste ; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages ; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse : the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

A language map of West Tibet with notes.—*By* A. H. FRANCKE.

(With Plate vii.)

197 194 For the benefit of students of my Ladakhi Grammar, J. A. S. B. Part I, Extra No. II, 1901, I am now adding a language map of the ancient Ladakhi kingdom.

In the map special attention has been paid to the Tibetan dialects of the Indus valley. To distinguish the characteristics of the different dialects, it has been asked in which manner the following consonant combinations are pronounced in each single dialect: —

(1) sg, rg, sb, rb.
(2) sk, rk, sp, rp.
(3) by, py, phy.
(4) br, pr, phr.
(5) gr, kr, phr.

I. In the Rong-dialect the pronunciation is the following:—

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ); sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = gh or h (like Urdu ڑ or ڑھ); sp or rp = f.
(3) by = j; py = c; phy = ch.
(4) br = dr; pr = tr; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = غم; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = hampo; cospin = cofin.
(3) bya = ja; phyogs = chogs.
(4) brag = drag; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo; khrims = thrims.

II. Leh-dialect:

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ); sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = sk or rk; sp or rp = sp or rp.
(3) by = j; py = c; phy = ch before a, o and u.

Before e and i the y disappears, and b, p, and ph retain their original sound.

(4) br = dr; pr = tr; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

197
194

Examples.

(1) sgam=ﻏﻢ; sbaste=vaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospin.
(3) bya=ja; phyogs=chogs; but byema=bema; phye=phe; phyila=phila.
(4) brag=drag; phrugu=thrugu.
(5) grangmo=drangmo; khrims=thrims.

III. Sham-dialect:

(1) rg or sg=rg or sg; rb or sb=rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk=rk or sk; rp or sp=rp or sp.
(3) by=by; py=py; phy=phy.
(4) br=br, pr=pr; phr=phr.
(5) gr=dr; kr=tr; khr=thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam=sgam; sbaste=sbaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospin.
(3) bya=bya; phyogs=phyogs.
(4) brag=brag; phrugu=phrugu.
(5) grangmo=drangmo; khrims=thrims.

IV. Purig and Balti dialects:

(1) rg or sg=rg or sg; rb or sb=rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk=rk or sk; rp or sp=rp or sp.
(3) by=by; py=py; phy=phy.
(4) br=br; pr=pr; phr=phr.
(5) gr=gr; kr=kr; khr=khr.

Examples.

(1) sgam=sgam; sbaste=sbaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospain (or byaspain).
(3) bya=bya; phyogs=phyogs.
(4) brag=brag; phrugu=phrugu.
(5) grangmo=grangmo; khrims=khrims.

Note: Examples for py, pr, and kr, have not been given. These combinations occur almost invariably with additional prefixes which make these cases more complicated and would take up too much space.

What has been said, only refers to the Indus valley. According to information received from natives the following may be added about other districts.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T 364 A. H. Francke—*A language map of West Tibet with notes.* [No. 4.

●197 In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type
194 No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written
T language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.
D
174 *The Dard question of West-Tibet.* Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T
D
174
614 (2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis bsamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa sNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 614

(*c*) **Mi dponpa:** It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) **Rab blonpa:** It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

T D 174 197 782 [776]

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di sha nomo hla shuni
Shuni bi sha nomo hla shuni
Sinani bi sha nomo hla shuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་སུལ་ལྷ་ཤུ་ནི།
ཤུ་ནི་བི་ཤ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཤུ་ནི།
ཤི་ནི་བི་ཤ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཤུ་ནི།།

LANGUAGE MAP OF WEST-TIBET

Plate VI.

JASB Vol LXVII Pt I

A. H. Francke M-S (no date) 1904 AM West Tibetan AM

Daed AV3

[End Map]

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[133] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[2] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

•197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—*"Ram, ram"* or *"Namaste."* In Lahul they became Tibetan—*"Ju Ju"* or *"Ju Le."*

[2] [Headman--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

622 As we ride up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long 741 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material. A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's ● 197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among 437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we 563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this 731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A *'Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[451] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.